FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FEBRUARY 19, 1916

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

THE PRESIDENT'S VALENTINE

Congressional · Union · for · Woman · Suffrage

NON-PARTISAN

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OBJECT: To secure an amendment to the United States Constitution enfranchising women.

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five Cents. There are no dues.

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Amendment Referred Back to Sub-Committee

THE Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, at a meeting held February 15, by a vote of nine to seven referred back to the Judiciary subcommittee its report of the Susan B. Anthony amendment with instructions to the subcommittee to hold all suffrage resolutions until December 14, 1916.

Sixteen members were present at the meeting: Representatives Webb, of North Carolina, chairman; Carlin, of Virginia; Walker, of Georgia; Gard, of Ohio; Whaley, of South Carolina; Caraway, of Arkansas; Igoe, of Missouri; Taggart, of Kansas; Williams, of Illinois; Thomas, of Kentucky; Dale, of New York; Steele, of Pennsylvania, Democrats; Volstead, of Minnesota; Nelson, of Wisconsin; Chandler, of New York, and Graham, of Pennsylvania, Republicans.

Those who voted for postponement until December 14th were: Webb, Carlin, Caraway, Gard, Whaley, Walker, Igoe, Williams, and Steele, all Democrats.

Those who voted against postponement were: Taggart, Dale, and Thomas, Democrats; and Volstead, Nelson, Chandler, and Graham, Republicans.

Representative Neely, of West Virginia, Democrat, and Representatives Danforth, of New York; Morgan, of Oklahoma; Dyer, of Missouri, and Moss, of West Virginia, Republicans, were absent when the vote was taken. Mr. Moss was ill in a hospital, Mr. Neely was at home in West Virginia, Mr. Dyer was in St. Louis, and Mr. Morgan, who was in Washington, could not be located at the time of the meeting.

Shortly after the convening of the meeting, the chairman, Mr. Webb, asked for reports from subcommittee No. 1, the subcommittee on woman suffrage. Mr. Carlin, chairman of the subcommittee, reported, without recommendation, the suffrage resolution which had been introduced in the House on December 6th by Mr. Raker of California, in accordance with the decision reached by the subcommittee the preceding week.

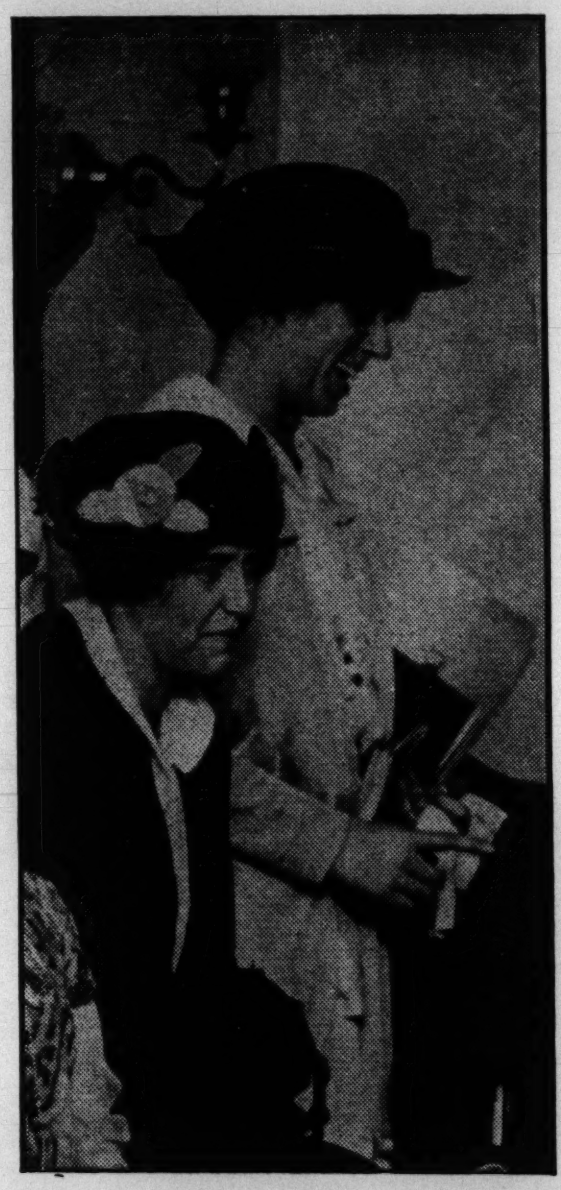
Representative Nelson, Republican, a staunch supporter of the amendment, fearing unfavorable action on the resolution if brought up at that time, moved to postpone consideration indefinitely. Mr. Carlin, Democrat, then moved to amend Mr. Nelson's motion to the effect that the resolution be referred back to the subcommittee with instructions to hold it and all suffrage resolutions until December 14. Mr. Gard, of Ohio, Democrat, thereupon moved, as a substitute for the Carlin motion, that the prohibition amendment be included in the Carlin motion and that both the prohibition and suffrage resolutions be held by the subcommittee until December 14. Mr. Gard's motion was defeated by a tie vote of eight to eight. Mr. Carlin's amendment to Mr. Nelson's original motion was then in order and was carried by a vote of nine to seven, thus recommitting the suffrage resolution to the subcommittee.

Mr. Williams, of Illinois, Democrat, who had claimed to be friendly to the suffrage amendment and who had seconded Mr. Nelson's motion that consideration be postponed indefinitely, changed his position during the course of the meeting and voted for Representative Carlin's amendment postponding action until December. If Mr. Williams had remained firm, he would have prevented the carrying of the Carlin motion by making a tie vote of eight to eight.

Following the carrying of the motion to postpone until December, Mr. Whaley, of South Carolina, moved to reconsider the motion and lay it on the table. As no objection was raised, it was announced by the chairman that this was carried. Mr. Webb later stated that the adoption of this motion of Mr. Whaley's prevented any further motion at a subsequent meeting for reconsideration of the matter.

THE present status of the amendment is therefore that it has been returned by the Judiciary Committee to the subcommittee, with instructions to hold it until after the November elections.

The subcommittee which now has the resolution in charge, is the same as that which previously reported it without recommendation, and consists of Representatives Taggart, Carlin, Whaley, and Gard, Democrats; and Nelson, Morgan, and Volstead, Republicans.



Miss Doris Stevens and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Who Are Starting on the Trail of the Judiciary Committee

The present attitude of the men on the subcommittee may be gathered from their previous action on the suffrage question. As stated in last week's *Suffragist*, the subcommittee, on motion of Mr. Gard, with Nelson, Morgan, Volstead, and Taggart supporting it and with Whaley opposing it, and with Carlin and Gard not expressing themselves, passed the resolution to report without recommendation the suffrage amendment (known as House Joint Resolution No. 1) to the Judiciary Committee.

It is interesting to note the action taken by the different men on the other motions which were made in the subcommittee. The first motion was by Representative Nelson to bring the suffrage resolution introduced by Mr. Mondell before the subcommittee for consideration. This motion was defeated by a vote of four to three, the four Democrats on the subcommittee voting against the three Republicans. Mr. Gard, Democrat, then moved that the suffrage resolution introduced by Mr. Raker be brought before the committee for consideration and this motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Nelson, Republican, then moved that the Raker resolution which was before the subcommittee for consideration be reported favorably to the Judiciary Committee. This motion was defeated, the four Democrats voting against it and the three Republicans voting for it. Then came the carrying of the final motion of Mr. Gard calling for a report without recommendation.

THREE lines of action now remain for suffrage workers:

First, to secure the discharge of the subcommittee on woman suffrage from consideration of the suffrage amendment, on motion of a member of the Judiciary and carried by a majority vote of that committee.

Second, to secure another report from the subcommittee to the Judiciary Committee, which could be accomplished by a majority vote of the subcommittee.

Third, to secure the discharge of the Judiciary Committee from consideration of the suffrage resolution, by a majority vote in the House of Representatives, as called for in Mr. Mondell's motion, which is now on the House calendar of "Motions to Discharge the Judiciary Committee."

MISS ANNE MARTIN and her colleagues, who were at the Capitol at the time of the Judiciary meeting, immediately renewed the struggle to secure action from the committee. Word was flashed to the chairmen and organizers in the various states to bring influence to bear on the Representatives who voted against the measure by urging their constituents to bestir themselves in the interest of the amendment.

The first of a series of meetings for this purpose will be held at Chicago at the Hotel LaSalle on February 20, with Miss Elsie Hill, Miss Doris Stevens and Mrs. Sara Bard Field as speakers. All three have been in intimate touch with the lobby work on the Judiciary Committee at Washington. Since Illinois is the home state of Congressman-at-Large William E. Williams, who was one of those who voted for postponement until next session, concerted pressure will be brought to bear on him by suffragists from all districts.

Mrs. Field, who has been helping in Washington and at the New York headquarters, since her arrival in Washington at the opening of Congress, plans, on leaving Chicago, to cover all of the larger western cities in an appeal to the women voters to help in securing action from the Judiciary Committee. On leaving Chicago she will speak in Colorado Springs, Denver, Salt Lake City, Boise, Seattle, Portland, and San Francisco, in addition to making speeches in non-suffrage territory, such as at Madison, Minneapolis, and St. Paul.

Miss Doris Stevens, immediately upon news of the action of the Judiciary, started upon the same errand, and will go to Kansas, Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington and California.

Miss Mabel Vernon, who is continuing work in Kansas and is concentrating particularly on Mr. Taggart's district, has sent far and wide throughout the state a call to Kansas women to meet in Representatives Hall, the State House, at Topeka, at 2.30 on the afternoon of February 23d for a mass meeting at which the situation will be placed before the Kansas women for action.

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas. and Thompson.
In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.
In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced,

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914. Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Democratic Record

DAY by day the Democratic party is making the record upon which it will have to go before the country in the election next November.

One of the subjects which will have a great deal to do with its success or failure in November is the national suffrage amendment. In spite of attempts to keep it in the background, the suffrage question will undoubtedly be one of the issues in the election. Never was the importance which the question holds in the eyes of political leaders more clearly revealed than by the action of the Judiciary Committee on Tuesday in referring the suffrage amendment back to the subcommittee with instructions to keep it until the November elections were safely over.

Let us consider the record of the party in power, in this present Congress.

The President, the member of the party who can aid more than any other individual, was approached by suffragists on December 6. He stated, to quote him exactly:

"I shall certainly take the greatest pleasure in conferring in the most serious way with my colleagues at the other end of the city with regard to what is the right thing to do at this time concerning this great matter."

On his visit to New York the last of January, he was interviewed by a delegation from the Congressional Union and asked whether the promised consultation with his colleagues had taken place. The President replied:

"I have not fulfilled that promise, and I hope you will understand why I have not fulfilled it. It is because there seemed to be questions of legislation so pressing in their necessity that they ought to take precedence of everything else; that we could postpone fundamental changes to immediate action along lines in the national interest. That has been my reason, and I think it is a sufficient reason. The business of government is a business from day to day, ladies, and there are things that cannot wait.

"I have not forgotten the promise that I made, and I certainly shall not forget the fulfillment of it, but I want always to be absolutely frank. My own mind is still convinced that we ought to work this thing out state by state."

A few days later, when interviewed by the women voters of Kansas he made no reply to their plea that suffrage be included in the administration program and seems to have rebuffed them rather severely.

In the Senate, where the measure is safely out of committee and awaiting action by the main body, the Democrats offered no opposition in the committee stage, but have not yet given the measure the party backing necessary to bring it to a successful conclusion.

In the House, as related in this week's issue, the Democrats prevented a favorable report from the subcommittee, every Democrat on the committee voting against such a report while every Republican supported it. In the Judiciary committee as a whole the Democrats, who control the committee by thirteen as against eight Republicans, brought the amendment up immediately upon its report from the subcommittee, though custom prescribes a week's delay before action is taken upon a report. It is admitted that this extraordinary action was taken because four friends of the measure were unavoidably absent from this meeting. The amendment was sent back to the subcommittee upon motion of a Democrat, nine Democrats voting for such recommittal and all the Republicans voting against recommittal. It was the change in position during the course of the meeting by a Democrat, Mr. Williams, which made the vote nine to seven for recommittal instead of eight to eight, which would have prevented its carrying.

That this action of the Judiciary was but carrying out the will of the party group as a whole was frankly admitted. Mr. Williams stated to one of the Congressional Union workers that his action was taken in order to aid his Democratic colleagues who are desirous of keeping the measure out of the way until the elections are over. Mr. Whaley, who engineered the proceedings in the Judiciary Committee, clearly showed by his motion to reconsider and lay on the table (thus preventing reconsideration at a subsequent meeting), the determination of the Democrats to close every avenue, as far as possible, to having the subject again brought into the arena where the party would be compelled to make a record one way or the other. And Mr. Webb, on the evening of the meeting, admitted that every precaution had been taken to bottle up the measure as securely as possible.

To summarize then, during the two and a half months of the present Congress no active help has been given to the amendment by the President, but on the contrary his influence has been thrown against it. No effort has been made in the Senate to place the party machinery back of the measure to put it through. In the House, the Democrats in the subcommittee voted solidly against a favorable report and in the Judiciary used their party majority to defeat further consideration of the measure for the time being, sending it back to the subcommittee and most crudely disclosing their purpose by the provision that the amendment should be kept in the archives of the subcommittee until December 14.

The Democrats are seeking, it is clear, to keep the suffrage issue out of the national arena until the close of the Presidential campaign. But suffragists will not be thus turned aside. Only by positive support of the amendment resulting in its submission to the states can the Democratic party avoid making a reputation for unfriendliness. Inaction, evasion, refusal to deal with the question, constitute the strongest possible record of hostility.

It behooves suffragists to keep before them the record that the party is making day by day and to reveal this record, as it is made, to the women voters of the West. We must face the fact that the past two and a half months have clearly demonstrated that the Democratic party is not yet ready to bring about the passage of the suffrage amendment. We have but one weapon in our hands to compel action. That is the weapon of the woman's vote in the West. Let us, as suffragists, resolve not to divert one atom of strength or of money into anything but the building up of this army of enfranchised women to stand by unenfranchised women in that solidarity by which alone all group movements can achieve their ends.

Mid-Atlantic States Organize for Federal Amendment

Brilliant Conference Held in New York

MEMBERS of the Congressional Union from the Mid-Atlantic States gathered in conference at Delmonico's, New York, Friday, February 11, and amid much enthusiasm adopted a program to organize their section of the country geographically, in support of the Federal amendment.

Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey were the States represented in the conference and Mrs. Henry Bruere, of New York, was elected chairman of the Middle Atlantic section. As a means of bringing the Congressional Union branches into greater unity and of organizing them more effectively, she will direct the work of the State chairmen under her, and in a general way superintend the activities in every congressional district, county, ward and precinct; the organization plan including a chairman and committee in each.

Miss Doris Stevens, chairman of the organization department of the Union, outlined the scheme by which the country has been divided into four sectional districts, each under a field secretary. These districts, she stated, had been subdivided into geographical divisions, such as the Middle Atlantic division, each under a chairman. There then come the forty-eight State chairmen and committees; then the 435 congressional district chairmen and committees; and then county, ward and precinct chairmen, each supported by a corresponding committee.

The different groups, when thus organized, will be inspired and stimulated to continued activity by the national organizers and field secretaries who will be kept constantly in the field under the direction of the National Headquarters of the Union at Washington.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, chairman of the national legislative committee at Washington, was present at the meeting and told of the aid which a thoroughgoing organization in the country would be to the lobbyists at the Capitol. Her speech, like that of Miss Stevens, was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm.

The general plan of organization met with the hearty approval of the members present from the different branches and $5,000 was quickly pledged in response to an appeal from Mrs. Sara Bard Field, toward carrying on the work outlined. Mrs. Willard Straight of New York, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of New York and the New York City Committee, through Mrs. Joseph Deane, its treasurer, each pledged $1,000. The remainder was contributed in smaller amounts from $5 up.

About five hundred women and a number of prominent men, including many city officials, attended the conference which opened with a luncheon at 12.30, served in the grand ball room. The luncheon was followed by a business conference in an adjoining room, at which reports from the State branches were presented and the general chairman for the Middle Atlantic region elected. The day closed with a meeting in the evening, at the New York Headquarters, of the State chairmen with the newly elected Mid-Atlantic chairman. At this meeting plans for work in the States comprised in this section were thoroughly discussed.

Speakers at the Conference

Miss Anne Martin, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Harriott Stanton Blatch, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and Miss Frances Jolliffe

Mrs. Henry Bruere

Chairman Middle Atlantic States

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT, as chairman of the Congressional Union for the State of New York, welcomed the members of the conference at the luncheon and introduced the toastmistress, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer. The keynote of Mrs. Havemeyer's opening remarks was that, just as fifty years ago men were willing to shed blood for the freedom of the oppressed, today women were giving their all in asking men to pass the suffrage amendment—not to free a race of different color and different blood, but to enfranchise the women of their own race.

Miss Anne Martin, the first speaker, after reviewing the Congressional situation, said:

"The prospects were never so bright for passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment as at this session, if we handle the situation in the right way. The Democratic party cannot afford to take the responsibility of blocking the amendment. They are beginning to see that to prevent action this session would be as hostile an act, one for which their party must inevitably be held responsible in the next election, as to defeat the amendment. They are beginning to realize that the wise thing politically to do is 'to get rid of it,' as one Senator has recently advised, to cease to be obstructionists, to use their 'proposing power,' their 'submitting function' under the Constitution to send the question of national woman suffrage to the State legislatures, this session. It will then be forever removed from the arena of national politics by being placed before the State legislatures, where it belongs, for final action."

Honorable Frederick C. Howe, United States Commissioner of Immigration, followed.

"This invitation to me to speak here today is the one invitation that I have received recently," he said, "that I was really glad to get. Why? Well, it is closely related to what I think is the biggest subconscious regret of my working life, and that regret is that I should like to use myself as well as I can for this fundamental reform that relates to liberty—to freedom. For liberty and freedom to me are the most important things in life.

"Some years ago I was working hard and seriously over some work I was interested in and a very big man came to me and said, 'Now possibly what you are doing for the welfare of these people may be good. I think

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on December 7, by Senators Sutherland, Thomas. and Thompson.
In the House, on December 6, by Representatives Mondell, Raker, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported

In the Senate, January 8, the Sutherland Amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution No. 1; by a favorable vote.

Present Status

In the Senate, on the calendar, awaiting action.
In the House, before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced,

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914. Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Democratic Record

DAY by day the Democratic party is making the record upon which it will have to go before the country in the election next November.

One of the subjects which will have a great deal to do with its success or failure in November is the national suffrage amendment. In spite of attempts to keep it in the background, the suffrage question will undoubtedly be one of the issues in the election. Never was the importance which the question holds in the eyes of political leaders more clearly revealed than by the action of the Judiciary Committee on Tuesday in referring the suffrage amendment back to the subcommittee with instructions to keep it until the November elections were safely over.

Let us consider the record of the party in power, in this present Congress.

The President, the member of the party who can aid more than any other individual, was approached by suffragists on December 6. He stated, to quote him exactly:

"I shall certainly take the greatest pleasure in conferring in the most serious way with my colleagues at the other end of the city with regard to what is the right thing to do at this time concerning this great matter."

On his visit to New York the last of January, he was interviewed by a delegation from the Congressional Union and asked whether the promised consultation with his colleagues had taken place. The President replied:

"I have not fulfilled that promise, and I hope you will understand why I have not fulfilled it. It is because there seemed to be questions of legislation so pressing in their necessity that they ought to take precedence of everything else; that we could postpone fundamental changes to immediate action along lines in the national interest. That has been my reason, and I think it is a sufficient reason. The business of government is a business from day to day, ladies, and there are things that cannot wait.

"I have not forgotten the promise that I made, and I certainly shall not forget the fulfillment of it, but I want always to be absolutely frank. My own mind is still convinced that we ought to work this thing out state by state."

A few days later, when interviewed by the women voters of Kansas he made no reply to their plea that suffrage be included in the administration program and seems to have rebuffed them rather severely.

In the Senate, where the measure is safely out of committee and awaiting action by the main body, the Democrats offered no opposition in the committee stage, but have not yet given the measure the party backing necessary to bring it to a successful conclusion.

In the House, as related in this week's issue, the Democrats prevented a favorable report from the subcommittee, every Democrat on the committee voting against such a report while every Republican supported it. In the Judiciary committee as a whole the Democrats, who control the committee by thirteen as against eight Republicans, brought the amendment up immediately upon its report from the subcommittee, though custom prescribes a week's delay before action is taken upon a report. It is admitted that this extraordinary action was taken because four friends of the measure were unavoidably absent from this meeting. The amendment was sent back to the subcommittee upon motion of a Democrat, nine Democrats voting for such recommittal and all the Republicans voting against recommittal. It was the change in position during the course of the meeting by a Democrat, Mr. Williams, which made the vote nine to seven for recommittal instead of eight to eight, which would have prevented its carrying.

That this action of the Judiciary was but carrying out the will of the party group as a whole was frankly admitted. Mr. Williams stated to one of the Congressional Union workers that his action was taken in order to aid his Democratic colleagues who are desirous of keeping the measure out of the way until the elections are over. Mr. Whaley, who engineered the proceedings in the Judiciary Committee, clearly showed by his motion to reconsider and lay on the table (thus preventing reconsideration at a subsequent meeting), the determination of the Democrats to close every avenue, as far as possible, to having the subject again brought into the arena where the party would be compelled to make a record one way or the other. And Mr. Webb, on the evening of the meeting, admitted that every precaution had been taken to bottle up the measure as securely as possible.

To summarize then, during the two and a half months of the present Congress no active help has been given to the amendment by the President, but on the contrary his influence has been thrown against it. No effort has been made in the Senate to place the party machinery back of the measure to put it through. In the House, the Democrats in the subcommittee voted solidly against a favorable report and in the Judiciary used their party majority to defeat further consideration of the measure for the time being, sending it back to the subcommittee and most crudely disclosing their purpose by the provision that the amendment should be kept in the archives of the subcommittee until December 14.

The Democrats are seeking, it is clear, to keep the suffrage issue out of the national arena until the close of the Presidential campaign. But suffragists will not be thus turned aside. Only by positive support of the amendment resulting in its submission to the states can the Democratic party avoid making a reputation for unfriendliness. Inaction, evasion, refusal to deal with the question, constitute the strongest possible record of hostility.

It behooves suffragists to keep before them the record that the party is making day by day and to reveal this record, as it is made, to the women voters of the West. We must face the fact that the past two and a half months have clearly demonstrated that the Democratic party is not yet ready to bring about the passage of the suffrage amendment. We have but one weapon in our hands to compel action. That is the weapon of the woman's vote in the West. Let us, as suffragists, resolve not to divert one atom of strength or of money into anything but the building up of this army of enfranchised women to stand by unenfranchised women in that solidarity by which alone all group movements can achieve their ends.

Mid-Atlantic States Organize for Federal Amendment

Brilliant Conference Held in New York

MEMBERS of the Congressional Union from the Mid-Atlantic States gathered in conference at Delmonico's, New York, Friday, February 11, and amid much enthusiasm adopted a program to organize their section of the country geographically, in support of the Federal amendment.

Delaware, Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey were the States represented in the conference and Mrs. Henry Bruere, of New York, was elected chairman of the Middle Atlantic section. As a means of bringing the Congressional Union branches into greater unity and of organizing them more effectively, she will direct the work of the State chairmen under her, and in a general way superintend the activities in every congressional district, county, ward and precinct; the organization plan including a chairman and committee in each.

Miss Doris Stevens, chairman of the organization department of the Union, outlined the scheme by which the country has been divided into four sectional districts, each under a field secretary. These districts, she stated, had been subdivided into geographical divisions, such as the Middle Atlantic division, each under a chairman. There then come the forty-eight State chairmen and committees; then the 435 congressional district chairmen and committees; and then county, ward and precinct chairmen, each supported by a corresponding committee.

The different groups, when thus organized, will be inspired and stimulated to continued activity by the national organizers and field secretaries who will be kept constantly in the field under the direction of the National Headquarters of the Union at Washington.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, chairman of the national legislative committee at Washington, was present at the meeting and told of the aid which a thoroughgoing organization in the country would be to the lobbyists at the Capitol. Her speech, like that of Miss Stevens, was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm.

The general plan of organization met with the hearty approval of the members present from the different branches and $5,000 was quickly pledged in response to an appeal from Mrs. Sara Bard Field, toward carrying on the work outlined. Mrs. Willard Straight of New York, Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont of New York and the New York City Committee, through Mrs. Joseph Deane, its treasurer, each pledged $1,000. The remainder was contributed in smaller amounts from $5 up.

About five hundred women and a number of prominent men, including many city officials, attended the conference which opened with a luncheon at 12.30, served in the grand ball room. The luncheon was followed by a business conference in an adjoining room, at which reports from the State branches were presented and the general chairman for the Middle Atlantic region elected. The day closed with a meeting in the evening, at the New York Headquarters, of the State chairmen with the newly elected Mid-Atlantic chairman. At this meeting plans for work in the States comprised in this section were thoroughly discussed.

Speakers at the Conference

Miss Anne Martin, Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Mrs. Harriott Stanton Blatch, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer and Miss Frances Jolliffe

Mrs. Henry Bruere

Chairman Middle Atlantic States

MRS. O. H. P. BELMONT, as chairman of the Congressional Union for the State of New York, welcomed the members of the conference at the luncheon and introduced the toastmistress, Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer. The keynote of Mrs. Havemeyer's opening remarks was that, just as fifty years ago men were willing to shed blood for the freedom of the oppressed, today women were giving their all in asking men to pass the suffrage amendment—not to free a race of different color and different blood, but to enfranchise the women of their own race.

Miss Anne Martin, the first speaker, after reviewing the Congressional situation, said:

"The prospects were never so bright for passing the Susan B. Anthony amendment as at this session, if we handle the situation in the right way. The Democratic party cannot afford to take the responsibility of blocking the amendment. They are beginning to see that to prevent action this session would be as hostile an act, one for which their party must inevitably be held responsible in the next election, as to defeat the amendment. They are beginning to realize that the wise thing politically to do is 'to get rid of it,' as one Senator has recently advised, to cease to be obstructionists, to use their 'proposing power,' their 'submitting function' under the Constitution to send the question of national woman suffrage to the State legislatures, this session. It will then be forever removed from the arena of national politics by being placed before the State legislatures, where it belongs, for final action."

Honorable Frederick C. Howe, United States Commissioner of Immigration, followed.

"This invitation to me to speak here today is the one invitation that I have received recently," he said, "that I was really glad to get. Why? Well, it is closely related to what I think is the biggest subconscious regret of my working life, and that regret is that I should like to use myself as well as I can for this fundamental reform that relates to liberty—to freedom. For liberty and freedom to me are the most important things in life.

"Some years ago I was working hard and seriously over some work I was interested in and a very big man came to me and said, 'Now possibly what you are doing for the welfare of these people may be good. I think

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probably it is. But after all it is not nearly as big a thing as you might do if you dedicated yourself to liberty, to making it possible for these people to work out their own salvation rather than trying to work it out for them yourself.' And that microbe settled in my mind and it has staid there ever since, and it has greatly changed my attitude. It has changed my living. It has changed the philosophers whom I love.

"To those whose whole philosophy is the philosophy of freedom, the right of people to live their own lives and work out their own destiny is the most important thing in the world—and that is what suffrage means to me. And so the tactics we are to employ and the means we are to use depend upon really how big a right, we feel that the right to the ballot is. And I think it is the right to life. For life is thinking, working, living and expressing ourselves, and the only way we can express ourselves is through the ballot.

"It does not make any material difference, so far as the principle is concerned, what you do with the ballot. That is not the test. The test is the right to use it. And that is why I am very glad to be here today. I guess it was that which made your meetings which I attended in Washington a real inspiration to me. I have believed in suffrage for many years. I felt it as well as a mere man can and I do not feel that many men *can* feel what suffrage means to women. No one can know what it means except those who want it. But the women I saw in Washington and the meetings they held showed me for the first time in my life how much this really means to women. That it really is the yearning for expression, for life, for being themselves. They showed me that this was one of the big rights rather than one of the little rights; one of the first rights rather than one of the secondary rights.

Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman, then took up the theme:

"I have had letters from various parts of the country asking me in no unmeasured terms why I belong to the Congressional Union, why I approve of it. My reasons are these:

"First:—Its method is the straightest, quickest, most dignified, most legitimate method, the most economical of time and labor and money.

"Second:—Because of this particular thing which so many people object to: taking the power we already have to get more power. That is the only method to use in a democracy. That is the very definite political effort of this Union—to organize women as a unit, that those who are ahead may help those who are behind. It is the beginning of that great sense of solidarity, which is the most necessary thing among us.

"The one thing we lack which makes a democracy a real power is union. Now this organization is at present working to bring into the democracy a sense of solidarity, to unite disfranchised women with those millions of our women who are able to give us justice. If they are all not yet ready to do it, it is only because their objection is in a sense one of local loyalty; what they call loyalty to their immediate leaders, and gratitude for kindnesses received. Personal loyalty belongs to the family, to small groups and to kingdoms. In a democracy we need first, last, and always, loyalty to principles. It has been hard for men to learn this. They have not yet risen to this higher loyalty—the loyalty and the ideals on which the country rests. And so all the women who fear to turn against partial friends have too narrow a vision.

"The women voters have practical power, and we are asking them to lead, to stand together for the help of all other women of the country. And they will do it."

Reverend Allen McCurdy then told the conference that they had before them a political situation which if rightly handled would enable them to win. "In all this unrest is your opportunity," he said. "Grab it. Pound the party that refuses you the vote."

In speaking of ex-President Taft's "Not yet" policy, Mr. McCurdy said, with great emphasis, "The time a man or woman ought to do anything is the time it becomes apparent to him."

Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch was given an ovation when she arose to speak. "I hope, friends, that you will rise as readily to your feet when I make the appeal I am to make today," she said. "Mrs. Field has made the appeal for funds. I want to make the appeal for women. Women to go to the West. Women just to go and help with the work there and then come back again. And women to go as I am going, to be a voter there; to get on the inside and help. Ladies, if you will only join you have no idea what a welcome is waiting you. It is the experience of my life; a disfranchised woman here in the East getting letters from the Government officials begging me to come to this State or that and to bring you all with me. I would be so glad to do it. And then some of their representative municipal bodies are sending me telegrams saying what wonderful cities they have and asking me to come there.

"Now I am not going out there to stay on a little ranch and rest; I am going out to work. A short time ago I informed Representative Taggart that I was considering his district. I want to do something out there, and there is a message that I am carrying to the women of the West. Our message to the women voters will be that at every new stage in the development of freedom for men, men have stood by the unenfranchised class and extended their hands to help Our own Lincoln, and Gladstone in England appealed to enfranchised men to lift up disfranchised men. Have not women the same sort of loyalty to each other?"

Other brilliant and inspiring speeches followed; among them one by Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, chairman of the New Jersey branch of the Union, which evoked great applause, and one by Sara Bard Field, the envoy from the Woman Voters Convention, telling of her

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles

Chairman New Jersey and Delaware Branches Congressional Union

purpose of going back to the West and relating to the women voters what she had learned at the Capitol of the attitude of the different Congressmen.

The luncheon was notable for the unusual number of prominent people, particularly men of political achievement, who attended. Mrs. Robert Adamson, of the Advisory Council of the Union, was hostess at a large table seating forty-seven guests, including the Hon. Henry Bruere, Hon. Theodore D. Rousseau, Judge Charles L. Guy, George Creel, Hon. Samuel L. Martin, Commissioner Robert Adamson, Hon. Stuart Gibbony, Hon. John E. Lowe, Hon. Marcus Marks, Hon. W. Holden Weeks, Commissioner Burdette Lewis, Commissioner Katharine Bement Davis, Commissioner Henry Moscowitz, Dorothy Dix, and Mrs. Stephen Ayre.

Among other well-known men and women at the luncheon were Mr. Lyman B. Stowe, Professor H. G. Lord, of the department of philosophy of Columbia University; Mrs. Victor du Pont, of Delaware; Mrs. Amos Pinchot, Miss Sadie American, Professor John Dewey, of Columbia University, and Mrs. Harry Campton, of Orange, N. J., formerly president of the New Jersey Equal Franchise Society.

BECAUSE of the large attendance at the conference the afternoon session was transferred from Mrs. Belmont's home to the gold room at Delmonico's. Mrs. Henry Bruere presided over the meeting which filled the room to overflowing.

The feature of the session was the resolution introduced by Mrs. John Rogers Jr., and unanimously adopted as follows:

"Resolved, that the Congressional Union Conference of five hundred women of the Mid-Atlantic States, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, beg to remind President Wilson of his own words: 'There is one thing that the American people love more than peace, and that is liberty,' and ask him to consider again very carefully his attitude toward the Susan B. Anthony amendment, believing that if he will do so he will find that it embodies the broad principle of human freedom, which properly belongs in the Constitution of the United States."

Copies of the resolution were sent to the President and every member of Congress.

The afternoon session was taken up with the business details of the organization of the states in the Middle Atlantic division, and with a more intimate discussion than could be held at the luncheon of the political situation at Washington.

The state reports were exceedingly encouraging Miss Julia Hurlbut, vice-chairman of the New Jersey branch of the Union, told of the remarkable advance in the work in her state,

Reports of equally satisfactory progress in their respective states were made by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, chairman of the Delaware branch Mrs. Joseph Dean, vice-chairman of the New York branch; Miss Ella Riegel, vice-chairman of the Pennsylvania branch, and Mrs. Townsend Scott, chairman of the Maryland branch.

Following the discussion of the state reports, Miss Jolliffe, one of the envoys from the Women Voters' Convention, who has been assisting in the legislative work at Washington, made a plea for the eastern women to go west in person and make their appeal to the women voters to rise up and do even more than they are already doing in the national amendment campaign. She told of having herself been galvanized into action by the message which the Congressional Union had brought to the west, and said if such an appeal could only be carried to every district there would be a widespread uprising on the part of the western women which would make further opposition in Congress impossible.

Mrs. Gilson Gardner, in describing the situation at Washington, spoke most encouragingly of the advance which had been made in the time the Congressional Union had been at the Capitol.

"In my lobby work of the last few weeks," she said, "I have seen a number of men whom I had seen just a year ago. These anniversary visits prove to me that we have really underestimated our strength; that we have underestimated the value of the policy of the Congressional Union.

"One Representative from the middle west showed an amazing change of viewpoint. A year ago he uttered feeble banalities on the general subject of suffrage. This year, when I broached the subject of the amendment, he looked at me with a steely light in his eyes and said: 'Mrs. Gardner, how I will vote upon the suffrage amendment depends entirely upon the political situation at the time the vote is taken in the House.'

"Last year one Representative delivered himself of just two sentences in reply to our query. He said: 'Ladies, I am an old-fashioned Democrat. I bid you good-morning.' On this last visit the Representative launched at once into a speech, in which he told me in words of eloquence that he wished he could vote for the amendment, and that he hoped things might be so that he could.

"Another, indulging in a little gossip, told us that we would be surprised if we knew how many men who represent suffrage states in the House of Representatives are not really for suffrage, but only vote for it through compulsion. And then it was he paid us the greatest tribute we had yet received. He said, with great solemnity and earnestness: 'I will not tell you the names of these men, because if I did you would destroy them.'"

Writing of the conference, Miss Doris Stevens said: "A fine spirit prevailed, and the meeting seemed to adjourn reluctantly."

Immediately after the conference, Mrs. Belmont was hostess at a tea to the members and friends of the Union, given in the corridors adjoining the gold room.

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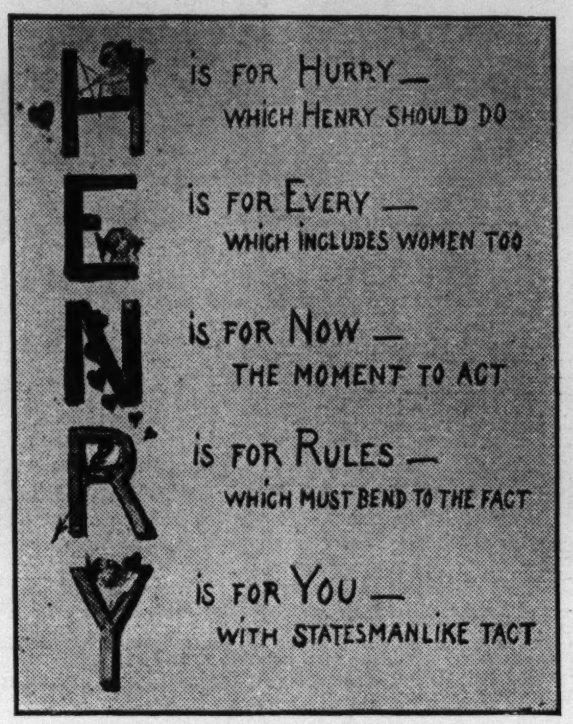
Valentines Pour in Upon Congress

Suffragists Ask Legislators to be Their Valentine, and Vote "Aye" on Susan B. Anthony Amendment

ON THE morning of February 14, the President, the Vice-President, and the 64th Congress were again reminded of woman suffrage.

A thousand suffrage valentines were received by senators and representatives from members of the Congressional Union living in their districts. The valentines varied greatly in character, but every one conveyed the same message. It served to remind our national legislators that the Susan B. Anthony amendment is before this Congress and that hundreds of women all over the country are watchfully waiting for action.



An Acrostic for Mr. Henry, of Texas, Chairman of the Rules Committee

A Valentine Sent to Mr. Pou, of North Carolina

As far as we can learn the Texas delegation was the most popular. Texas legislators, it has been discovered, received three or four apiece, and some of them were original drawings and clever verses. The Southern members were undoubtedly surprised to be so well remembered, for these men have frequently told deputations of women that there was no interest in suffrage in their district or state. Possibly the vote on the child labor bill, which bill was opposed by Southern Democrats from the cotton mill states, largely influenced the character of the valentines which these members received. Many of them were in the form of cards on which were outlined figures of small children and the lettering read: "WE WANT OUR MOTHERS TO VOTE BEFORE WE GROW UP, SO MISTER WON'T YOU PLEASE VOTE AYE ON THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT."

Some of the Senators who voted against the Susan B. Anthony amendment in the last Congress received yellow blotters on which were inscribed the following words: "AN OPPORTUNITY TO BLOT OUT YOUR PAST AND VOTE RIGHT THIS TIME. VOTE AYE ON THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT."

Senator O'Gorman of New York received a decorated section of pantry shelf paper, with the following somewhat pointed allusion to his vote on the sixteenth and seventeenth amendments:

You voted for the income tax amendment,
Nor did direct elections find you slow,
But when it comes to suffrage, "That's a matter
Each State must settle for itself, you know!"

The California women centered their attention upon Senator Phelan, as he seems to feel at present that he is not in favor of the suffrage amendment. For him a coquettish young lady arrived, with the motto:

VOTE FOR THE ANTHONY AMENDMENT.

The verses which she accompanied read:

You're flirting with me, darling,
But leave me still in doubt.
You'd better be my Valentine,
Or
Look
A
Little
OUT!

The Ohio delegation were well remembered, but Mr. Gard received three times more than any other Ohio member. This was not owing entirely to Mr. Gard's popularity, but to the fact that Mr. Gard is a member of the Judiciary Committee of the House; the committee which now has before it the Anthony amendment. All members of the Judiciary Committee received valentine reminders and doubtless at odd moments when not overwhelmed with cares of state, they are comparing verses and sketches.

Representative Williams of Illinois, a member of the Judiciary Committee, is the proud possessor of three poems from his State. Mr. Webb of North Carolina, Chairman of the Judiciary, had at least half a dozen, and Mr. Carlin, a member of the committee from Virginia, was fairly showered with valentines.

One of Mr. William's verses read:

Said Congress to the ladies,
On St. Valentine, his day,
"I'm very, very busy now,
I wish you'd keep away."

Then said the ladies firmly,
"Your business we note,
But we are very busy, too.
We're working for the vote.

"And naught would please us better
Than that business to resign,
If you'd just give us suffrage,
For our Leap Year Valentine."

Another said:

Oh will you will us well, Will,
As we will will by you,
If you'll only will to help us
Put the Amendment through!

A third token sent to Mr. Williams was as follows:

While you afar in hall of state
Judicially deliberate,
My thoughts are all of you.
Your voice alone from Illinois
Can bring me joy.
Yield now! Fight well!
Be true!

Representative Webb received a valentine labeled "From a Fond Heart to a Democratic (?) Congressman," with the following verse:

Federal aid he votes for rural highways,
And Federal aid for pork each to his need;
And Federal aid for rivers, trees and harbors,
But Federal aid for women?—No, indeed!

Representative George W. Loft of New York received one of the cleverest of the valentines. The fact that he is a candy manufacturer gave the suffragists an unusually good opportunity. The verses sent him were:

Who is it eats your famous sweets
By million pounds a year?
You've just one guess—we women, yes,
Your judgment, George, is clear.
We're good enough to make you rich,
It's now your turn at bat.
Be good enough to vote for us—
We'll hold you, George, to that.
Put our amendment through—don't wait,
Then you will be our candidate.

To Charles Pope Caldwell of New York, his constituents sent the following:

Though hostile to us by report,
We will besiege the Caldwell fort
With our aggressive staff.
There's every hope for victory
Because, you see, already we
Have won the better half.

Mrs. Caldwell is a suffragist.

To John J. Fitzgerald, seventh district New York, went a reminder of the woman's vote in the West.

Your party's health is very shaky,
The Western women say,
They scorn a laggard lover
And will not tell him "Yea,"
But pass the suffrage measure,
Then watch Election Day!

Michael F. Farley, of the fourteenth New York district, received a similar message:

Oh! the Western woman voter
Is a very good promoter
Of the party that obeys her august will.
She knows just what she wants,
And your offices she haunts.
Federal suffrage she must have; no other suits.
If you'd be her valentine,
Hurry up that vote of thine;
Pass on the suffrage measure to the States.

For Congressman Mondell of Wyoming, sponsor for the Sutherland-Mondell amendment, a brave red heart bore this motto:

Oh, a young Lochinvar has come out of the West,
Of all the great measures his bill was the best!
So fearless in caucus, so brave on the floor
There ne'er was a leader like young Lochinvar!

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Treasurer's Report

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Collections	43.97
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Total	$2,657.48
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	106,899.34
Total collected through February 12, 1916	$109,556.82

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Rate, 15 words 25 cents, 2 cents each additional word. Five insertions for the price of four.

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